553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished ancestors. [533] After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

553 178 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give him a name. So the child receives his name from some other [761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to [601] [613] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will, as usual, be called iyedage, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That 613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father 582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:
773
[539]

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echetaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules—they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that [773] the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely 764 important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

[p. 39-D]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

[p. 42-B]

/511 cont./

774 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one
828 doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 Ideas about death and the existence after death differ
795 essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the
[171] medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living.
[171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him." /Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
• [761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]